

Message Text

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70

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0937

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY BANJUL

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

USUN NEW YORK 567

C O N F I D E N T I A L CONAKRY 1091

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GV ML UV

SUBJECT: SEKOU TOURE COMES OUT OF HIS SHELL

REF: A. CONAKRY 1082; B. BAMAKO 2632

1. SEKOU TOURE HAS REACHED SIGNIFICANT TURNING POINT IN FOREIGN POLICY. TRILATERAL CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENTS OF UPPER VOLTA AND MALI, AN OPPORTUNITY ENERGETICALLY GRASPED BY TOURE, WAS IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL BREAKTHROUGH (IF THIN ON CONCRETE DECISIONS). TOURE HAD NOT DARED TO LEAVE GUINEA FOR YEARS UP UNTIL FLAMBOYANT VISITS OUAGADOUGOU AND BAMAKO JULY 11-13. THIS SUGGESTS GREATER CONFIDENCE ON HIS PART AND INTENTION AGAIN TO PLAY INTERNATIONAL ROLE AFTER SO MANY YEARS AS "HERMIT OF CONAKRY."

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2. HIS EMOTIONAL AND RABBLE-ROUSING SPEECHES IN OUAGADOUGOU AND ESPECIALLY BAMAKO (REFTEL B) HAVE BEEN REPEATED ALMOST CONTINUALLY ON GUINEA'S "VOICE OF THE REVOLUTION." TOURE ACCLAIMED BROTHERHOOD OF MALI AND VOLTA, FRATERNAL ANTI-IMPERIALISM, ANTI-COLONIALISM, ANTI-NEOCOLONIALISM, ANTI-CAPITALISM, ETC, ETC. OF ALL THREE COUNTRIES, AND EULOGIZED AFRICAN UNITY. HE CAME CLOSE (AS HE HAD EARLIER IN CONAKRY) TO CALLING FOR SOME FORM OF TRIPARTITE FEDERATION. US WAS CITED VAGUELY AMONG OPPRESSIVE STATES. HE SPOKE OF GREATER COOPERATION AMONG COUNTRIES OF NIGER AND SENEGAL RIVER BASINS AND FORESHADOWED EXPANDED GOG ROLE IN OERS.

3. ANDRE LEWIN OF UN AND SEYDOU DEITA, GUINEAN AMBASSADOR TO WESTERN EUROPE, MAIN FIGURES IN TORTUROUS NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD RE-ESTABLISHMENT FRANCE/GUINEA RELATIONS, ARRIVED CONAKRY JULY 11. WE HAD EXPECTED THIS MIGHT MEAN EARLY ANNOUNCEMENT OF RE-ESTABLISHMENT

RELATIONS BUT WERE SURPRISED BY SUDDENNESS (AND LOCATION) OF ANNOUNCEMENT IN BAMAKO EVEN BEFORE TOURE HAD SEEN LEWIN. DIFFERENCES HAD BEEN NARROWED TO MODALITIES AND TIMING OF RELEASE FRENCH PRISONERS WHICH TOURE WAS IN POSITION TO RESOLVE WHENEVER HE WISHED. EVEN THOUGH FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT ON JULY 14 OF RESUMPTION RELATIONS (SEPTEL) DOES NOT INCLUDE PRISONER RELEASE, WE ASSUME THIS WILL TAKE PLACE QUICKLY, SINCE FRANCE COULD HARDLY HAVE AGREED TO ANNOUNCEMENT OTHERWISE.

4. GAMBIAN PRESIDENT JAWARA IS EXPECTED TO VISIT CONAKRY NEXT WEEK WITH AT LEAST SOME AUTHORITY FROM SENGHOR TO MEDIATE SENEGAL/GUINEAN DIFFERENCES. THERE IS OBVIOUS LOGIC IN TOURE ACCEPTING THIS MEDIATION ON HEELS OF HIS OWN MEDIATION EFFORT WITH MALI AND UPPER VOLTA. IVORY COAST WAS NAMED AMONG THOSE WEST AFRICAN STATES WITH WHOM MALI, UPPER VOLTA AND GUINEA SHOULD COOPERATE, BUT WE ARE NOT AWARE OF PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALIZATION GUINEAN RELATIONS WITH IVORY COAST.

5. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT SEKOU TOURE WILL NOW UNDERTAKE OTHER TRIPS ABROAD, AND MAY EVEN PARTICIPATE OUA CHIEF OF STATE MEETINGS LATE JULY IN KAMPALA. HE HAS BROKEN PRECEDENT OF SECLUSION IN CONAKRY. WITH PORTUGUESE EMPIRE DISSOLVED AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS REESTABLISHED WITH FRANCE AND GERMANY, TOURE MUST AT CONFIDENTIAL

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LAST RECOGNIZE THAT FOREIGN THREAT NO LONGER EXISTS. IN VIEW RUTHLESS DICTATORSHIP AND ECONOMIC MISERY IN GUINEA, HE MUST ALWAYS FEAR ISOLATED ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS. HOWEVER, THE MILLION OR SO EXILED GUINEAN DISSIDENTS POSE LITTLE THREAT TO HIS REGIME WHEN THEY

HAVE NO BACKING OF OTHER POWERS. TOURE'S INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY MAY ALSO BE DESIGNED TO DISTRACT GUINEAN PUBLIC FROM PENURY AT HOME.

6. FINALLY, TOURE DEEPLY BELIEVES MUCH OF HIS CANT ABOUT HOSTILE IMPERIALISM, NEVER-ENDING SOCIALIST REVOLUTIONS AND THE IMPERATIVES OF AFRICAN SELF-DEPENDENCE. TO AGAIN PROMOTE THESE THEMES INTERNATIONALLY MUST BE AN EXHILARATING ATTRACTION TO HIM.

7. SEE NO REASON TO EXPECT THAT A RETURN TO INTERNATIONAL ACITVITY WOULD MODIFY TOURE'S ESSENTIALLY CRITICAL IF NOT DOWNRIGHT HOSTILE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF US POLITICAL INTERESTS. IN FACT, ANOTHER CHARISMATIC RADICAL VOICE, TO THE EXTENT HE COULD RECAPTURE MUCH CREDIBILITY, IS HARDLY TO BE WELCOMED IN THIS YEAR OF THIS WORLD CONFRONTATIONAL POLITICS.

8. ONE POSSIBLE PLUS IS THAT GREATER INTERNATIONAL CONTACT COULD EDUCATE TOURE ABOUT THE PRAGMATIC NECESSITY FOR AT LEAST A PARTIAL MARKET ECONOMY FOR, FOREIGN INVESTMENT AND FOR SOME FREE ENTERPRISE IF THE GUINEAN ECONOMY IS EVER TO RECOVER. BUT HERE AGAIN IT IS HARD TO BE OPTIMISTIC. HE HAS DUG HIMSELF TOO DEEPLY INTO HIS IDEOLOGY.
HARROP

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